

IX.—*Some account of the Wars between Burmah and China, together with the journals and routes of three different Embassies sent to Peking by the King of Ava; taken from Burmese documents. By Lieutenant-Colonel H. BURNEY, Resident in Ava.*

The chronicles of the kings of *Prome*, *Pagan*, and *Ava*, which are comprised in 38 volumes, and brought down to the year 1823, contain accounts of several disputes and wars between those sovereigns and the emperors of *China*. *Tagaung*, the original seat of empire on the *Eráwadí*, is said to have been destroyed by the Tartars and Chinese before the birth of Christ. In the reign of ΠΗΥΨ'-zô-dí', the third king of *Pagan*, who reigned between A. D. 166 and 241, the Chinese are said to have invaded his kingdom with an immense army, over which that king obtained a great victory at a place called *Kó-thăm-bí*; but neither the date nor the cause of this war is given. The 42nd king of *Pagan*, ANÔRA-THÁ MENG:-zô, who reigned between A. D. 1017 and 1059, invaded *China*,—in what year is not mentioned,—for the purpose of obtaining possession of one of GAUDAMA's teeth; which is said, however, to have refused to quit *China*. This king had a meeting with the emperor of *China*, and the two sovereigns lived together for three months, but at what place is not mentioned. During ANÔRA-THÁ-zô's residence in *China*, the emperor daily supplied him with food dressed in various gold and silver vessels, which, on the departure of the king, he is said to have delivered to the emperor of *China's* religious teacher, with directions to dress food in them daily, and make offerings of it to GAUDAMA's tooth. This proceeding induced many succeeding emperors of *China* to demand the presentation of the same kind of vessels from the kings of *Pagan* and *Ava*, as tokens of their tributary subjection to *China*. In the year 1281, during the reign of NARA-THI-HA-PADE', the 52nd king of *Pagan*, the emperor of *China* sent a mission to demand such gold and silver vessels as tribute; but the king having put to death the whole of the mission, a powerful Chinese army invaded the kingdom of *Pagan*, took the capital in 1284, and followed the king, who had fled to *Bassein*, as far as a place on the *Eráwadí* below *Prome* called *Taroup-mó*, or Chinese point, which is still to be seen. The Chinese army was then obliged to retire in consequence of a want of supplies; but in the year 1300, KYÔ-zuá, the son of the above-mentioned king of *Pagan*, having been treacherously delivered by his queen into the hands of three noblemen, brothers, who resided at *Myen-zain*, a town lying to the southward of *Ava*, and who forced the king to become a priest and assumed the sovereignty themselves, another Chinese

army came down and invested *Myen-zain*, for the purpose of assisting and re-establishing the king *KYÔ-zuÁ*. The rebel nobles applied for advice to a priest, who recommended them, apparently as a taunt, to consult tumblers and rope-dancers. Some of that profession were, however, sent for, and they, whilst exhibiting their feats before the three nobles, repeated as customary words of no meaning, a sentence like the following: "There can be no dispute when no matter for dispute remains." The nobles seized upon these words, and applying them to their own case, observed, If king *KYÔ-zuÁ* is killed, the royal line, which the Chinese have come to restore, will be extinct. Accordingly, they cut off the king's head and showed it to the Chinese, who then proposed to retire, if the nobles would send some presents to their emperor. The nobles agreed, but upon condition that the Chinese army should first dig a canal; and the Chinese generals, to shew the immense numbers of their army, dug in one day, between sunrise and sunset, a canal 4900 cubits long, 14 broad and 14 deep, which canal near *Myen-zain* is still in existence\*. The Burmese chronicles further state, that the little pieces of skin, which the spades and other instruments the Chinese used when digging this canal had peeled off their hands and feet, being afterwards collected, were found to measure ten baskets full, well pressed down! In the reign of king *KYÔ-zuÁ*, the nine Shan towns on the frontiers of *China*, *Maing-mó*, *Hó-thá*, *La-tha*, &c. are said to have been separated from the empire of *Pagan*.

In the year 1412, during the reign of *MEN:-GAUNG*, the first king of *Ava*, the Shan chief of *Thein-ní*, whose father had been defeated and killed that year when marching with a force to attack *Ava*, invited the Chinese to come and aid him against the Burmese, whilst they were besieging the city of *Thein-ní*. The king of *Ava's* son, who commanded the Burmese army, hearing of the approach of the Chinese, advanced and lay in wait for them in a wood, from which, as soon as the Chinese came up, the Burmese sallied forth and attacked them, and destroyed nearly the whole of their army. In the following year, during the same king of *Ava's* reign, and whilst almost the whole of the Burmese army were absent engaged in a war with the *Talains* in lower *Pegu*, another Chinese army entered the kingdom of *Ava*, and actually invested the capital, demanding the liberation of the families of two Shan chiefs, the lords or governors of *Maun-toun* and *Mó-kay*. These chiefs having committed some aggression near *Myedu*, a town in the king of *Ava's* dominions,

\* It is called *Theng-dué-myaung*, and communicates with the *Zó* river, and is used for the irrigation of paddy lands.

a Burmese army had gone and attacked and defeated them. They had escaped into *China*, but their families had been captured and brought to *Ava*. The king of *Ava* refused to surrender the families of the chiefs, and the Chinese general, after besieging *Ava* for a month, found his army so much distressed from want of provisions, that he was induced to send in to the king a proposition, to have the dispute between the two nations decided by single combat between two horsemen, one to be selected on either side. The king agreed, and selected as his champion a Talain prisoner named THA-MEIN-PARAN. The combat took place outside of *Ava* in view of the Chinese army and of the inhabitants of *Ava* who lined its walls. The Talain killed the Chinese, and, decapitating him, carried the head to the king. The Chinese army then raised the siege, and retreated into *China*, without the families of the Shan chiefs.

In the year 1442, during the reign of BHUREN-NARAPADI, also called DU-PA-YÖUN-DAY-AKA, king of *Ava*, the Chinese again sent a mission to demand vessels of gold and silver, which they declared ANÔRA-T'HÁ-ZÔ, king of *Pagan*, had presented as tribute. On the king refusing, the Chinese again invaded the kingdom in the year 1443, and now demanded, that THÓ-NGAN-BUÁ, the Shan chief of *Mō-gaung*, should be surrendered to them. This person, together with an extensive kingdom belonging to him, had been conquered by the Burmese in 1442, and the Chinese, who styled him the chief of *Maing:-mó*, apparently from the circumstance of a territory of that name on the *Shue-li* river having been comprised within his dominions, are stated to have been at war with him for several years, when the Burmese conquered him. The king of *Ava* advanced with a strong force above *Ava* to oppose the Chinese, and drove them back to *Mó:-wún*\*. The Chinese again invaded *Ava* in the year 1445, and the king again proceeded up the *Eráwadí* to oppose them with a large force; but before the two armies met, some of the Burmese officers persuaded their king, that as the Chinese would never desist invading his dominions until THÓ-NGAN-BUÁ was surrendered to them, it would be better to comply with their wishes. The king then returned to *Ava* with his army, and on the Chinese following and investing the city, he agreed to surrender THÓ-NGAN-BUÁ, but upon condition that the Chinese army should first go and bring under subjection *Ya-mè-theng*, a town lying to the southward of *Ava*, which was then in a state of rebellion. The Chinese consented, and after taking *Ya-mè-theng* and delivering it over to a Burmese force which had accompanied them, they returned to *Ava*, when THÓ-NGAN-BUÁ

\* Chinese, *Long-tchuen*.

killed himself by poison. The king, however, sent his body to the Chinese, who are said, after embowelling it and putting a spit through it and roasting it dry, to have taken it with them to *China*.

In the same king of *Ava's* reign, in the year 1449, the Chinese made an unsuccessful attempt to take possession of *Mō-gaung* and *Mō-nhyín*, which were at that time considered as portions of the Burmese Empire, and the king is said to have made a very handsome present in silver to the then *Tsô:-BWAH* of *Mō-gaung* named *THÓ-KYEIN-BUÁ*, and his younger brother *THÓ-POUT-BUÁ*, for defeating the Chinese invading army.

In the year 1477, in the reign of *MAHÁ-THÍ-HA-THU'-YA*, king of *Ava*, a Talain champion who had lately received the title of *THAMEIN-PARAN*, offered, if his master the king of *Pegu* would entrust him with 40,000 men and a favorite elephant, to march beyond *Ava* to *Khan-tí* on the frontiers of *China*, and there set up an iron post as the boundary of the Talain empire. The king of *Pegu* acquiesced, and *THA-MEIN-PARAN* succeeded in reaching *Khan-tí* and marking the boundary; but on his return towards *Pegu*, he was attacked near *Ya-nù-theng* by a Burmese force, defeated and taken prisoner to *Ava*. The emperor of *China*, as soon as he heard of *THA-MEIN-PARAN's* proceeding, sent a force to remove the boundary mark, and the Chinese general, after effecting this object, sent a mission to the king of *Ava*, to demand gold and silver cooking vessels as before. The king refused, but agreed, on a proposition again made by the Chinese, that the right of *China* to those tributary tokens should be decided by a single combat between two horsemen, one to be selected by either nation. The king accordingly selected as his champion the Talain prisoner, *THA-MEIN-PARAN*, who defeated the Chinese champion, and the Chinese army again retreated to *China*. A strong suspicion as to the veracity of the Burmese historian will be excited, when it is known that not only this dispute also between *China* and *Ava* was decided by single combat, but the name and description of the Burmese champion were the same on this occasion as in that before related, in the annals of the king *MEN:-GAUNG* the first.

In the year 1562, *TSHEN-BYU'-MYÁ-YEN*, (lord of many white elephants,) the great king of *Pegu*, after conquering *Ava*, *Mō-gaung*, *Zenmay*, *Thein-ní*, &c. sent a large army to the frontiers of *China*, and took possession of the nine Shan towns (*Kó-Shan-pyì* or *Kó-pyí-daung*), *Maing-mó\**, *Tsi-guen*, *Hó-thá*, *Lá-thá*, *Mó-ná*, *Tsan-dá*, *Mó-wun*,

\* The Shans, who use the Burmese character, write *Maing*, but pronounce the combination *Múng*, which is their term for a town and province. The Burmese, hence, derive the words which they apply to Shan towns, *Main*, *Maing*, and *Mo*.

*Kaing-mah*; and *Maing:-Lyín* or *Maing:-Lyì*, all of which, with the exception of *Kaing-mah*, are now, and apparently were at that time, under the dominion of *China*. The chief of *Mó:-meit*, then subject to *Pegu*, had complained, that the inhabitants of those nine Shan towns had committed some aggression on his territory, and the emperor of *China*, it is said, declined to assist those towns when attacked by the king of *Pegu's* army, because they had been once subject to the kings of *Pagan*. The *Pegu* army, after conquering the country, built monasteries and pagodas, and established the Buddhist religion there in its purity.

In the year 1601, NYAUNG MEN:-DARA'H, king of *Ava*, after re-building the city, and re-establishing the kingdom of *Ava*, which the Peguers had destroyed, proceeded with a large force against the Tsô:-buah of *Ba-mó\**, who had taken advantage of the downfall of the extensive *Pegu* empire left by TSHEN-BYU'-MYÁ-YEN, and set himself up as an independent chief. On the approach of the king, the chief of *Ba-mó* called THÓ-TSEIN, fled to *Yunan*, and the king after taking *Ba-mó*, advanced beyond *Maing-Tein*, and sent his son, the heir apparent, close to *Yunan* with a message to the Chinese governor, threatening to attack him if he refused to surrender the fugitive chief. The governor made a reference to the emperor of *China*, who directed the chief to be surrendered, observing, that he was a subject of *Ava*, and that if the Chinese protected him their territory would be disquieted. The chief of *Ba-mó* was killed in an attempt to make his escape, but his corpse with his wife and children was sent to the prince of *Ava* by the governor of *Yunan*, and taken to the king, who appointed another Tsô:-buah of *Ba-mó*, and returned to *Ava*. Some Burmese historians state, that the fugitive chief of *Ba-mó* took poison and killed himself; but the account above given is taken from the edition of the Royal Chronicles, revised under the orders of the present king of *Ava*.

In the year 1658, during the reign of MENG:-YE'-YANDA-MEIT, also called NGA-DAT-DAYAKA, king of *Ava*, YOUN-LHI' (DU HALDE'S YONGLIK), who had been set up as emperor in the southern provinces of *China*, having been attacked by the Tartars from the north, came down to *Mó:-myín* (Chinese *Theng-ye-chow*), and sent a message to the Tsô:-buah of *Ba-mó*, saying that he would reside at *Ba-mó* and present 100 viss† of gold to the king of *Ava*. The Tsô:-buah replied,

\* The Burmese write this name *Ban-mó*, although they pronounce it *Ba-mó*. *Bán* in the Siamese and *Yún* Shan languages, and *Mán* in most of the other Shan dialects, means a village. Some of the Shans call this place *Man-mó*, and others *Kat-mái*.

† A viss is a Burmese weight equal to about 3½ English pounds.

that he dare not forward such a message to *Ava*, and YOUN-LHI' then offered to become a subject of the king of *Ava*. The Tsô:-buah made a reference to *Ava*, and the king ordered him to allow YOUN-LHI' and his followers to come in, upon condition that they relinquished their arms, and to forward them to *Ava*. YOUN-LHI' then came in with upwards of sixty of his nobles, including the governor of *Maing-Tshù* or *Yunan*, and 600 horsemen, and the whole were forwarded to *Ava*, and a spot of ground in the opposite town of *Tsagain* was allotted to them. The Burmese chronicles, however, create an impression, that YOUN-LHI' desired to carve out a new kingdom for himself in *Burmah*,—and state, that before coming into *Ba-mó*, he ordered a large army which was still under his orders, to march after him towards *Ava* by two different routes, one portion by *Mó:-meit*, and the other by *Thein-ní* and *Mó-né*\*. Shortly after YOUN-LHI' reached *Ava*, accounts were received that a large force belonging to him was attacking the Burmese territory near *Mó:-meit*, and when questioned by the Burmese, YOUN-LHI' said, that his generals were not aware of his having become a subject of the king of *Ava*, but that he would write a letter, by showing which the Chinese generals would desist. The king of *Ava*, however, preferred marching a force against the Chinese, who defeated it, as also a second force, and then came down and attacked the city of *Ava*. Some of the exterior fortifications were carried, and the Chinese penetrated to the southward, set fire to the monasteries and houses, and desolated a large tract of country in that direction. They then returned to the assault of the city, but were repulsed with much loss; and a heavy fire being kept up against them from the guns on the walls, which were served by a foreigner named MI-THARI' KATAN (Mr. COTTON?) and a party of native Christians, a shot killed a man of rank among the Chinese, who then retreated from before *Ava*, and proceeded towards *Mó:-né* and joined the other portion of YOUN-LHI''s army, which had been ordered to march down by *Thein-ní* and *Mó-né*. The king then repaired the fortifications of *Ava*, and summoned to his assistance his two brothers, the chiefs of *Taung-ngú* and *Prome*. The Chinese army when united again advanced from *Mó-né*, and succeeded, notwithstanding many attempts made by the Burmese to stop and check

\* In the account of the journey of certain Chinese from *Siam* to *China* by land, given in the 1st vol. of DU HALDE, it is stated, that when the Tartars made themselves masters of *China*, "a great number of Chinese fugitives from the province of *Yunan* dispossessed their neighbours of their land, and settled there themselves, and the inhabitants of *Kamarett* (a Shan town on the frontiers of *China*) were forced to abandon their city."

them, in again investing *Ava*, which they besieged for several months. The families and property of many of the Burmese troops being outside of the city, were seized by the Chinese and maltreated or destroyed; and this circumstance, joined to a great scarcity of provisions, created much sorrow and suffering among the besieged. The troops had neither rice nor money to purchase it, and on applying to the king, he observed that they had received their grants of paddy land for their services, and that he had no rice to give them; at the same time he stationed some of his women at the palace-gate with rice for sale. The commanders of the troops at last complained against the king to his younger brother, the prince of *Prome*, who, in the month of May 1661, entered the palace, seized the king and his family, and assumed the sovereignty with the title of "*Meng-yé-gyó-gaung*." The dethroned king and his family were, shortly after, sent to the *Khyen-duen* river and drowned, and hence he is also styled in history *Ye-gyá-meng*, or the king thrown into the water. AS SOON AS MENG-YE'-GYÔ-GAUNG took the reins of government, the affairs of the Burmese began to prosper. He succeeded in several successive attacks on the Chinese besieging force in different directions, and at last, as the Chinese suffered severely from these attacks and from an epidemic disease, they, one night in the month of November, 1661, evacuated their entrenchments before *Ava* and fled, leaving most of their baggage and property.

Shortly after, the king of *Ava* was advised not to allow YOUN-LHI' and all his Chinese followers to reside together at *Tsagain*, but to make the latter take the oath of allegiance and then disperse them in different parts of the country. The king ordered all the Chinese, with the exception of YOUN-LHI' and the governor of *Yunan*, to be sworn; but when the Burmese officers summoned the Chinese to attend at the pagoda where the oath was to be administered, they refused to come unless the governor of *Yunan* accompanied them. He was accordingly invited also, and on coming to the pagoda and seeing many Burmese troops in attendance, he imagined that it was their intention to put the Chinese to death. He and several of the Chinese suddenly snatched the swords out of the hands of some of the soldiers and attacked them, killing many of the Burmese; who, however, at last mounted the enclosure walls of the pagoda, and fired down upon the Chinese, until many of them were killed and the remainder submitted. But as soon as the king of *Ava* heard of this affair, he ordered the whole of the Chinese, with the exception of YOUN-LHI', to be put to death.

In the month of December, 1661, the Tartars marched down a force

of 20,000 men, under AIN-THI'-WENG, the governor of *Yunan*, which took post at *Aung-peng-lay*, and sent a mission to the king of *Ava*, demanding YOUN-LHI', and threatening, on refusal, to attack *Ava*. The king summoned a council of his officers, and observing that in the reign of king DU-PA-YÖUN-DAYAKA, THÓ-NGÁN-BUÁ had been surrendered to the Chinese, and in the reign of king NGA-DAT-DAYAKA they had been made to surrender the Tsó:-buáh of *Ba-mó* to the Burmese, gave it as his opinion, that these two precedents would justify his now delivering YOUN-LHI' to the Tartars. One of the Burmese officers expressed his entire concurrence in his Majesty's opinion; adding, that the Tartars were very powerful, and that the Burmese troops and inhabitants were suffering much from their war with the Chinese. YOUN-LHI' with his sons and grandsons were accordingly, on the 15th January, 1662, forwarded to the Tartar camp, and delivered over to the Tartar general. He, however, sent another mission to demand the person of the Chinese governor of *Yunan*, but the king of *Ava* having replied, that he had executed that governor for ingratitude and treachery, the Tartar camp broke up on the 22nd January and returned to *China*. The mutual surrender of fugitives of every description is now an established principle in the relations between the two kingdoms, and the Chinese are said to enclose carefully in a large cage and forward to *Ava*, any Burmese fugitives required by the king of *Ava*.

For a full century after YOUN-LHI' was surrendered, the Chinese and Burmese appear to have continued in peace, but at last, in the year 1765, in the reign of TSHEN-BYU'-YEN\*, king of *Ava*, the second son of ALOM-PRA, another war broke out between the two nations; and as this war is the last which has occurred between them, and is often referred to by the Burmese with pride and exultation, and as its details are recorded with some minuteness, and are really calculated to give European nations a more favorable opinion of Burmese courage and military skill, I shall endeavour to make a free translation of the account of it, which is contained in the 29th and 30th volumes of the *Chronicles of the kings of Ava*.

The causes of that war are said to have been these: a Chinese named LÔLI' came to *Ba-mó* and *Kaung-toán*, with 3 or 400 oxen laden with silk and other merchandize, and applied to the *Ba-mó* authorities for permission to construct a bridge to the north of the village of *Nánbá*, in order to enable him to cross the *Tápeng* river. The *Ba-mó* officers observed, that they must submit the application to the ministers at *Ava*; and LÔLI' considering this answer as equivalent

\* Lord of the white elephant, and SYMES'S Shem-buan.



to a refusal, was impertinent and disrespectful. The *Ba-mó* officers suspecting from *LÔLI*'s manner, language, and appearance, that he was not a common merchant, but some Chinese officer of rank, seized and sent him to *Ava* with a report of his conduct. He was confined at *Ava* in the usual manner; but after a full inquiry and examination, nothing of political importance transpiring, he was sent back to *Ba-mó*, with orders that he should be allowed to trade as usual, and that if he really wished to construct a bridge, which however appeared to the ministers to be only an idle boast on his part, he should be permitted to do so wherever he pleased. On his return to *Ba-mó*, he declared that some of his goods which had been detained there when he was sent to *Ava*, were missing or destroyed, and insisted upon compensation. The *Ba-mó* officers replied, that when he proceeded to *Ava* he took only five or six of his men, leaving all the rest in charge of his goods, and that if there really was any deficiency, he must look for it among his own people, and not among the Burmese. *LÔLI*' left *Ba-mó* much dissatisfied, and on his arrival at *Mó-mýn*, he complained to the Chinese governor there, that Chinese traders were ill treated by the *Ba-mó* officers, who had also sought pretences for accusing him and destroying his merchandise.—He then went to *Maing-Tshù*, and preferred the same complaint to the *Tsöuntú*, or governor general, there. The *Tsöuntú* observed, that he would wait a little and see if any thing else occurred, to prove the truth of *LÔLI*'s statement, that Chinese were ill used in the Burmese dominions, and not permitted to trade according to established custom. About the same time, an affray took place between some Burmese and a Chinese caravan of upwards of 2000 ponies with one *LÔTÁ'RI'* as their chief, which had come to *Kyáing-toñ* and put up to the north of that town at the great bazar of *Kat-thwáh*. The Burmese had bought some goods on credit, and refused payment when demanded by the Chinese. In this affray a Chinese was killed, and the *Tsô:buáh* being absent at *Ava* at the time, *LÔTÁ'RI'* applied to the subordinate Burmese officers for justice, according to Chinese custom. These officers decided, that the man who had committed the murder should, agreeably to Burmese custom, pay the price of a life,—namely, 300 ticals. *LÔTÁ'RI'* refused money, and insisted upon the man being delivered over to the Chinese; but the Burmese officers replied that such was not their law, and then proposed that the man who had committed the murder should be put to death. *LÔTÁ'RI'* declared that this would not satisfy them, and returned to *China* with some of the principal traders, and complained to the *Tsöuntú* of *Yunan*\*. That officer being urged, at the same time,

\* Within the last six years two cases of accidental homicide occurred at *Ava*,

by the ex-Tsô:buáh's of *Ba-mó*, *Theinni*, *Kyaíng-toŭn* and other subjects of *Ava*, who had taken refuge in *China*, to invade the Burmese dominions, made such a report of the abovementioned circumstances to the emperor of *China*, as to induce his majesty to order an army to march and take possession of *Kyaíng-toŭn*. The Tsöuntú put up a writing on the bank of the *Táló* river containing these words: "Deliver a man to us in the room of our man who was killed, or we will attack you;" and shortly after, a Chinese army under a general named YI'N-TA'-LÔ YE', consisting of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, advanced and invested *Kyaíng-toŭn*. The Tsô:buáh of *Kyaíng-toŭn* at the same time revolted and joined the Chinese.

On TSHEN-BYU'-YEN, the king of *Ava*, hearing of this invasion, he dispatched, on the 28th of December, 1765, eleven divisions of troops, consisting of 20,000 foot, 200 war elephants, and 2,000 horse, under general LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU' NE-MYÓ-TSI'-THU'\*, to relieve *Kyaíng-toŭn*. The Burmese general, on approaching that place, contrived to send in some men in disguise, and arrange a combined attack on the Chinese besieging force. Their cavalry, which was numerous, was charged by the Burmese with elephants, and the Chinese being defeated, retired to the bank of the *Táló* river, where they took post behind some mud-works which they threw up. The Burmese general again attacked them and drove them to the bank of the *Mé-khaung* or great *Cambodia* river, where the Chinese army again took post; but they were attacked here also, their general YI'N-TA'-LÔ-YE' killed, and their army driven back to *China* with much loss, and in great disorder. The Burmese army then returned to *Ava*, where they arrived on the 8th April, 1766. THÍ'N-WÍ-BUÁH and DÔ-BAYÁ, the Tsô:buáhs of *Kyaíng-toŭn* and *Lú-ta-tshay-nhít-paná* sent excuses, stating that they had been forced to join the Chinese; but the king of *Ava* disbelieved them.

In January, 1767, intelligence was received by the king of *Ava* that another Chinese army, consisting of 250,000 foot and 25,000 horse, had entered the Burmese dominions, and that on their arrival on or near *Shyá-mue-loŭn* mountain, to the westward of the *Mé-khaung*

of a Burmese killing a Chinaman; and on both occasions, the Chinese residents successfully used their influence with the Burmese prince, MEN-THA-GYI'H, to have the Burmese executed. Nothing would satisfy the Chinese but the death of the individuals who had slain their countrymen.

\* The *Let-wé-weng-dô-mhú* is the officer in command of the northern entrance to the palace. The words mean literally, "left-hand royal entrance chief," and the *dô*, or royal, is often omitted. This is SYMES's *Ledougme*, and "the governor of the north gate" of some of our officers.

river, a part of the army, consisting of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse, under general YI'N-TSU'-TÁ-YENG, was detached by the route of *Nuay-leit* near *Mó-wún* against *Bamó*. His Majesty had before, anticipating the return of the Chinese, ordered *Kaung-toñ* to be reinforced and filled with provisions, so as to enable it to hold out under its governor BALA-MEN-DEN, and now directed that two armies should proceed from *Ava*, one by water up the *Eráwadi* to *Ba-mó* under the LET-WE'-WENG-MHU', and the other by the land route to the westward of that river, under the Wún-gyíh MAHÁ-TSI'-THU', who should be joined by all the force he might find at *Mó-gaung*, *Mó-nhyen* and other towns in that neighbourhood, and then march by the *Tsandá* (*Sánta*\*) route, and attack the Chinese. On the 30th January, 1768, the Wún-gyíh marched with 22 divisions, consisting of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and 200 war elephants; and on the 4th February, the water force, under the LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU', consisting of 11 divisions, 15,000 men, and with 300 boats carrying guns and jinjals, proceeded up the *Eráwadi* towards *Ba-mó*.

From *Shyá-mue-loñn* mountain another portion of the Chinese army, consisting of 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot, under general TSHENG-TÁ-LÔ-YE' marched by the *Tsandá* route against *Mó-gaung*. A body of 5,000 horse and 50,000 foot also took post on *Thínzá-nuay-lein* mountain, whilst the force under general YI'N-TSU'-TÁ-YENG, when it reached *Ba-mó*, stockaded itself along the bank of the river at the spot where the mart is held.

The governor of *Kaung-toñn*, not having sufficient force to go out and attack the Chinese, employed himself in repairing the old and constructing new defences, &c. about that town. The Chinese, leaving 3,000 horse and 30,000 foot with three generals to defend their stockade at *Ba-mó*, advanced with 70,000 foot and 7,000 horse under general TSU'-TÁ-YENG himself, and invested *Kaung-toñn*, which they assaulted with scaling ladders, axes, choppers, hooks and ropes; but the garrison, as previously arranged, met the assailants, not only with a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, but with large boilers of hot dammer and molten lead, and long pieces of heavy timber, which they let fall upon them. The Chinese were driven back with great loss, declaring that the besieged were not men, but *nats*† or inferior celestial beings. The Chinese then stockaded themselves around *Kaung-toñn* at a distance of more than 140 cubits.

The LET-WE'-WENG-MHU', or Burmese general, commanding the

\* The Burmese pronounce *Tsanta* as *Tsandá*.

† The Burmese *nat* is the same as the Hindu *Devah*, and most of the Burmese *nats* are taken from the Hindu Mythology.

water force from *Ava*, on arriving at the mouth of the *Nat-myet-nhá* above the town of *Shuegú*, stopped to allow all his boats to come up, and determined, in the meantime, to throw into *Kaung-toñn* a supply of ammunition. He selected three officers who volunteered to perform this service with three fast-pulling boats. The Chinese had only three boats, which they had constructed on their arrival at *Ba-mó*. The Burmese volunteers succeeded at daybreak one morning to pass through the Chinese besieging force stationed to the westward of *Kaung-toñn*, and entered that town with the supply of ammunition, as well as with presents of dresses and money, which the king of *Ava* had sent to the governor. On the same night the Chinese force made another unsuccessful attack. The governor arranged with the Burmese volunteers a plan of operations,—namely, that the water force from *Ava* should first go and attack the Chinese posted at *Ba-mó*, and then fall on the rear of the force besieging *Kaung-toñn*, from which the governor should at the same time make a sortie. The volunteers again at day-break passed through the Chinese force stationed to the north-west of the town, and rejoined the water force. The general of that force, entirely approving of the governor of *Kaung-toñn's* plan of operations, now moved his fleet of boats close along the western bank of the *Eráwadi* to *Ba-mó*, and then, landing his soldiers under a heavy fire from his boats, he stormed and carried all the Chinese stockades. The Chinese general before *Kaung-toñn*, *Tsu'-TÁ-YENG*, dispatched upwards of 1,000 horse in support of *Ba-mó*, but the Burmese general placed 2,000 troops to prevent the Chinese crossing the *Len-ban-gya* river, and *Tsu'-TÁ-YENG* recalled them.

The Burmese general then selected three bold and trusty men to pass through the Chinese force before *Kaung-toñn* at night, and report to the governor the fall of *Ba-mó*, and the intention of the Burmese general to attack on a certain day the besieging force. On the appointed day, the Burmese general, leaving one division of his force at *Ba-mó*, marched with the remaining nine divisions, and attacked the Chinese before *Kaung-toñn*, and at the same time the garrison of *Kaung-toñn* sallied out. The Chinese, although greatly superior in numbers, were much disheartened at the loss of their stockades at *Ba-mó*, and after three days' fighting, the whole of the Chinese works before *Kaung-toñn* also were taken. Ten of their generals and more than 10,000 men were killed, and the Chinese, after setting fire to the boats which they had been building, closed round their general *Tsu'-TÁ-YENG*, and, taking him up, fled to their force on *Thín-zá-nyoy-lein* mountain. The Burmese followed the

Chinese, and, driving them out of their stockades on that mountain, pursued them as far as *Mó:wún*, taking a great quantity of arms, prisoners and horses.

The land force of 22 divisions, which marched from *Ava* under the *Wún-gyíh* MAHÁ-TSI'-THU', having arrived at *Mō-gaung*, after repairing the defences of that town, and leaving a sufficient garrison in it, proceeded to meet the Chinese army, which was advancing by the *Santa*\* route. On crossing the *Kat-kyo-waing-mó*, the *Wún-gyíh* heard that the Chinese army were near *Lízó* mountain, and sent a small party in advance to reconnoitre. This party before it came to *Lízó* fell in with a party of 1,000 horse, which the Chinese general TSHENG-TÁ-LÔ-YE had also sent in advance, for the same purpose of reconnoitring, and the Burmese, drawing the Chinese into a narrow pass between two mountains, where their horse could not form line, attacked and defeated them. Judging, however, from this reconnoitring party only consisting of 1,000 horse, that the Chinese army must be of great force, the Burmese party stopped on the bank of the *Nán-nyen*† river, and sent some scouts on in advance. These returned with the intelligence, that, on ascending the top of a mountain and climbing some trees, they had seen the Chinese army, which amounted to about 20,000 horse, and 100,000 foot. The *Wún-gyíh* then appointed six divisions of his army to proceed with celerity by the right, and six by the left, round each side of the *Lízó* mountain, whilst with the remaining ten divisions, he advanced by the centre route slowly, and occasionally firing cannon. The Chinese general hearing of the approach of the Burmese, left one-third of his army to take care of his stockades in *Lízó*, and with the remainder advanced to meet the Burmese, and took post on the eastern bank of the *Nán-nyen* river. The Burmese force under the *Wún-gyíh* came up and joined the reconnoitring party on the western bank of the same river, whilst the right and left wings, which had reached *Lízó* by marching round the rear of the Chinese main army, suddenly attacked and carried the stockades there. The Chinese in those stockades believing that the principal portion of their own force was in front of them, were completely taken by surprise, and fled and joined their army under general TSHENG-TÁ-LÔ-YE'. These wings of the Burmese army then fell in with another Chinese force, which was coming from *China* with a convoy of provisions to their army, and took possession

\* The distance between *Mō-gaung* and *Santa* is said to be only five or six days' journey.

† For the Shan word *Nám*, water and small river, the Burmese always write *Nán*.

of the whole of the horses, mules and provisions. The Burmese generals reported their successes to their commander in chief, the Wún-gyíh, by a swift horseman, and proposed that their force should now fall on the rear of the Chinese army stationed on the east bank of the *Nán-nyen*, whilst the Wún-gyíh attacked it in front. The Wún-gyíh sent the messenger back approving of the plan of attack, and fixing the day on which it should take place. On the appointed day, the two wings of the Burmese army fell on the rear of the Chinese on two different points, whilst the Wún-gyíh crossed the *Nán-nyen* and attacked them in front with the main army. The Chinese generals seeing their army placed between two fires, retreated and took post at a spot beyond the *Lízó* mountain; but the Wún-gyíh here again attacked them, and completely routed their army, 100,000 men of which fled to *Santá* and there threw up new works. The Wún-gyíh halted his army at *Maing:lá*, in order to recruit it.

The Wún-gyíh having been taken unwell, the king of *Ava* recalled him, and appointed the LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU', who was in command of the *Ba-mó* water force, to go and relieve the Wún-gyíh, and with orders to attack and destroy the Chinese army, and then take possession of the eight Shan towns, *Hóthá*, *Láthá*, *Móná*, *Tsandá*, *Maing:mó*, *Tsi-guen*, *Kaing-máh*, and *Mó:wún*. The LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU' proceeded with his ten divisions from *Ba-mó* and joined the Wún-gyíh's army at *Maing:lá*, and soon after advanced and attacked the Chinese force at *Santá* under general TSHENG-TÁ-LÔ-YE', which had been suffering much from want of provisions, the inhabitants of the eight Shan towns having refused to comply with the Chinese general's requisitions, declaring that they were subjects of the king of *Ava*, and afraid to assist the Chinese. The Chinese were forced to retreat, and the Burmese pursued them as far as *Yunan*, taking a multitude of prisoners, horses, arms, &c. The LET-WE'-WENG-MHU' after taking possession of the eight Shan towns, which had heretofore thrown off their allegiance to *Ava*, joined another Burmese general, the Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'-HA-THU'RA, who had been sent with an army by the route of *Lú-ta-tshay-nhít-paná*. The two generals attacked another Chinese force of upwards of 50,000 men, which was posted on a high mountain to the north-east of *Theinni*, and one-third only of these Chinese escaped into their own country. The LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU' and the Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'-HA-THU'RA having completed his Majesty's service, then returned, with the prisoners, guns, &c. which they had taken, to *Ava*, where they arrived on the 21st May, 1767.

In the month of November, 1767, another Chinese army, consist-

ing of 60,000 horse and 600,000 foot, under the emperor of *China's* son-in-law, MYENG-KHOU'N-YE', and his brother TSU'-TÁ LÔ-YE', entered the Burmese dominions by the *Theinni* route, accompanied by the ex-Tsô:buáh of that place, NGA-AUNG-DUON; 100,000 men were sent at the same time against *Ba-mô* by the *Thinzá-nuay-lein* route. On this Chinese army attacking *Theinni*, the governor and other officers evacuated the place with most of the inhabitants. The Chinese general, MYENG-KHOU'N-YE' then advanced with 30,000 horse and 300,000 foot by the *Thibô* road, whilst the other general, TSU'-TÁ-LÔ-YE', having placed a garrison with the ex-Tsô:buáh in *Theinni*, constructed to the south-west of that town, some extensive stockades, in which he took post with 20,000 horse and 200,000 foot, and made arrangements for forwarding supplies of provisions to that portion of their army which was in advance. When a report of this intelligence was received at *Ava* from the Tsô:buáh of *Thibô*, the king appointed 30 divisions, consisting of 30 war elephants, 3,000 horse and 30,000 foot, under the command of the Wún-gyih MAHÁ TSI'-THU', to go and meet the Chinese army advancing by *Theinni* and *Thibô*. This army marched from *Ava* on the 24th December, 1767. Two days after, another army of 20 divisions, 200 war elephants, 2,000 horse, and 20,000 men, under the Wún-gyih MAHÁ THI'HA-THU'RA, marched by *Shue-zá-yan*\*, up *Nyaung-ben-gyih* and *Pó-gyó*, towards the rear of the advancing Chinese army, in order, after intercepting their communications with *Theinni* and cutting off their supplies, to attack the Chinese in the rear. Four days after a third army, consisting of 200 war elephants, 2,000 horse and 1,000 men, was detached under the command of the LET-WE'-WENG-DÔ-MHU', with orders to advance by the *Mómeit* road, and attack the rear of a Chinese force which was advancing by that road†.

On the Wún-gyih MAHÁ TSI'-THU' arriving at *Ban-gyí*‡ beyond *Thibô*‡, he sent forward seven divisions of his army which fell in with the Chinese and were driven back. The Wún-gyih then advanced with his whole army, and made an attack on the outposts of the Chinese force, which were posted on *Gout*§ mountain to the westward of *Thibô*, for the purpose of drawing the enemy out; but the Chinese

\* A pagoda at *Paleit* a village on the *Myet-ngay*, six or seven miles to the S. E. of *Ava*.

† This is the campaign of which SYMES has given some account in p. 69, &c. of the introduction to his embassy.

‡ SYMES'S *Peengee* and *Chibo*.

§ SYMES'S *Goup-toung-taung* is a hill or mountain in Burmese, and *Gout* mountain is near *Thibô*, and not *Bamô*.

general assailing the Wún-gyíh with an immense superiority of force, the Burmese were defeated with loss, and driven back in great disorder. Three regiments were taken prisoners, being unable to extricate themselves from the midst of the Chinese army, which they had penetrated in a charge. The Wún-gyíh collected his troops and retired, thinking only of defending himself. The Chinese general pursued the Burmese with increased confidence, until the advance of his army reached *Bout-thek-kay-byen*. The Wún-gyíh sent notice to *Ava*, that every attempt which the Burmese had made to stop the Chinese had failed; that they had penetrated as far as *Bout-thek-kay-byen*; and that he had taken post at *Loǎngá-byen-gyíh*. When this intelligence reached *Ava* on the 9th March, 1768, the whole of the ministers and officers were much alarmed, and advised his Majesty to fortify the city, and make preparations for receiving the Chinese, who were but two or three days' journey distant. The king abused his officers, and declared that if the Chinese came, he and the four princes, his brothers, alone would meet and destroy them.

The Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'-HA-THU'RA, who was ordered to proceed with his force to the rear of the Chinese army and cut off their supplies, sent a strong detachment in advance under the Tsit-kê-gyíh\*, TEIN-GYA':MEN:GAUNG, to reconnoitre. This officer reported, that the Chinese were advancing in great force, and that he would stockade himself and oppose them. The Wún-gyíh fearing to divide his force, ordered the Tsit-kê-gyíh to fall back, but the latter, being of opinion that his retreating from the immediate vicinity of the enemy would encourage them, and make them believe that the Burmese force was inconsiderable, urged the Wún-gyíh to advance, and threw up a stockade with large bamboos. The Chinese came up at night and repeatedly attacked this stockade, but without success. As soon as the Wún-gyíh learnt the Tsit-kê-gyíh's determination to make a stand, he pushed on with the rest of his force, which accelerated its pace on hearing the sound of cannon and musketry, and the moment it reached the Tsit-kê-gyíh's stockade, attacked the Chinese with great impetuosity. The Chinese were defeated and forced to retire, and after the Burmese army had recruited a little, the Wún-gyíh followed the enemy, and attacked and drove them out of *Lá-shí* or *Lá-shyó*, where they had stockaded themselves; and again out of *Kyú Shyó*, until they took shelter in *Theinni*. The Wún-gyíh followed and took post on the bank of the *Nán-beng* or *Nán-peng* river to the south-east of *Theinni*, sending three divisions of his army under TEIN-GYA':MEN:GAUNG to the west of the *Salween* river at the *Kuon-*

\* Lieutenant-General in war.



*loñn-dá:gu* ford, with orders to stop and cut off a convoy of provisions which was coming to the Chinese. This service was successfully performed, and the Chinese general TSU'-TA'-LÔ-YE' and other officers finding their own supplies intercepted, were unable to spare any for their army which was in advance under MYENG-KOUN-YE'. The Chinese near *Theinni* were soon in great distress from a scarcity of provisions, and too uneasy to come out and attack the Burmese. Hearing a report also, that TEINGYA':MEN:GAUNG was coming to attack them with 1,000 *musth* elephants, the whole Chinese camp were watching the clouds\*. At this time, the Let-wé-weng-mhú, who had marched by the *Mó:meit* road, arrived with his ten divisions, and joined the Wún-gyih MAHA' THÍ'HA-THU'RA before *Theinni*. The Let-wé-weng-mhú proposed to the Wún-gyih to let him march on at once with 30 divisions, and fall on the rear of the Chinese advanced force near *Thibó*; but the Wún-gyih was of opinion, that the Chinese near *Theinni* should first be disposed of, and believing that the town of *Theinni*, in which Shans and Chinese were intermingled, could be more easily carried than the Chinese works outside under their general TSU'-TA'-LÔ-YE', the Wún-gyih stormed *Theinni* with three divisions of 10,000 men each, and captured it with the whole of the Chinese magazines. The ex-Tsô:buáh, several Chinese officers of rank, and as many of the garrison as could escape, fled into the Chinese entrenchments beyond the town, but nearly 2 or 3,000 Shans and Chinese were killed.

The Wún-gyih MAHA' THÍ'HA-THU'RA then made arrangements for depriving the Chinese camp of their supply of water, and posted divisions of his army in a line along the *Nán-beng* river, from the south of *Theinni* from *Kyañk Koñn* on that river to the east of the town, covering at the same time the *Nán-tú* river, and planting troops at every road or passage leading down to the points at which the Chinese used to come and take water. The Chinese army soon began to experience great distress, no provisions being able to reach them from the rear, as well as being in want of water; and when the Wún-gyih ascertained this fact through some prisoners who had come over to the Burmese in search of water, he attacked the Chinese entrenchments at three points with more than 30 divisions and captured them. The emperor of *China's* brother, TSU'-TÁ'-LÔ-YE', finding the army unmanageable, cut his throat with his own sword and died. The Chinese fled pursued by the Burmese, who took a great many prisoners, together with arms, elephants and horses, and

\* *Tein* in the Burmese language means cloud, and *akyá*, or in composition *gyá*, means between. This is SYMES's *Tengia Boo*.

killed more than they could number. The Chinese generals YAU'K-AN, KHE'-WA, PAN-THE, YI'N-TSOUN-YE', YI'N-TÁ-YI', and KUEN-LÔ-YE' were also taken prisoners with their chargers.

The Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'HA-THU'RA then, leaving a strong garrison in *Theinní*, advanced against the Chinese army under MYENG-KOUN-YE'. The other Wún-gyíh, MAHÁ TSI'-THU', who had posted himself on *Loŭngá-byen-gyíh*, learning by the return of the messenger whom he had sent to *Ava*, that his majesty was highly displeased with him, determined to make another attack on the Chinese, and, marching round the rear of *Thoŭn:zay*, attacked them with three divisions on both flanks and centre, but owing to the great force of the enemy, the Burmese were repulsed, and succeeded only in killing 10 or 20,000 men. The Wún-gyíh rallied his troops, and after recruiting them a little, arranged another attack. He sent 4,000 men secretly at night to the rear of the Chinese army round their right and left flanks, with orders to be concealed during the night, and at day-break to fall upon the right and left wings of the enemy; whilst the Wún-gyíh, on hearing the sound of their attack, would advance with the rest of the army in three divisions, and attack the Chinese in front. This attack succeeded completely; and the weapons of the Burmese were so smeared with the blood of the Chinese, that they could not hold them. The Chinese had before suffered greatly from want of provisions, and their general, now believing that the Burmese from *Theinní* had arrived in his rear, deemed it prudent to fall back with the whole of his 30 divisions of 10,000 men each. The Wún-gyíh continued to attack the retreating enemy, and the whole of the woods and hills were covered with the dead bodies of the Chinese. The Chinese general MYENG-KOUN-YE', collecting as many of his men as he could, retired by *Taung-bain*, avoiding the road to *Theinní*, and on arriving at *Maing:yoŭn* and *Maing:yín*, took post on the top of a hill. The Wún-gyíh MAHÁ TSI'-THU' in the pursuit of the Chinese met the other Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'HA-THU'RA advancing with his force, at *Naung-bó* to the westward of *Lá-shyó*. The two armies united and marched towards the Chinese general at *Maing:yoŭn* and *Maing:yín*, but as soon as he heard of their approach, he fled into *China*. The two Wún-gyíh's finding the Chinese had retired, and that the king's service was completed, returned with all their prisoners, arms, &c. to *Ava*, where they arrived on the 17th March, 1768.

The Chinese force of upwards of 100,000 men which had marched against *Ba-mó* by the *Thínzá-nuay-lein* road, repeatedly attacked that place, which was so skilfully defended by BULA MEN:DEN, that they

could not carry it, and after losing a great many men, and suffering much from scarcity of provisions, they heard of the flight of the large Chinese army under the king's brother and son-in-law, and immediately raised the siege of *Ba-mó*, and fled to *China*.

For more than twelve months there was a cessation of hostilities between the two countries, owing apparently to a communication sent from *Ava* to *China* by eight Chinese prisoners, who were released for that purpose. But about the end of 1769, intelligence was received from *Ba-mó*, that another Chinese army of 50,000 horse and 500,000 foot was marching against the Burmese dominions under three generals, THU'-KOUN-YE', AKOUN-YE', and YUON-KOUN-YE'. On the 21st October, the king of *Ava* sent a force of 100 war elephants, 1,200 cavalry and 12,000 foot under the Amyauk-wún\*, NE MYO':-THI'HA-THU', to *Mó:gaung*, by the route to the westward of the *Eráwadí*. Three days after, another force amounting to 52,000 men under the Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THI'HA-THU'RA proceeded by water to *Ba-mó*; and in another three days, two more divisions proceeded with the cavalry and elephants under the Mó:meit Tsô:buáh and Kyôden:yázá, by the road to the eastward of the *Eráwadí*.

The three Chinese generals, on reaching *Yóyí* mountain to the north of the *Lízó*, detached 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot under the Kyen-ngan officer, TSHENG-TA'-YI'N, to advance by the *Mô:gaung* road, and cutting timber and planks in the most convenient spots, brought them to the bank of the *Eráwadí*, and left the general LÔ-TÁ-YE' with 10,000 carpenters and sawyers, to construct large boats†. The main army then marched on towards *Ba-mó*, and after throwing up very extensive stockades at *Shue-nyaung-beng*, twelve miles to the east of *Kaung-toñ*, and leaving 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse to defend them under YUON-KOUN-YE', the rest of the army, amounting to 30,000 horse and 300,000 foot, under the other two principal generals and ten officers of high rank, advanced and invested *Kaung-toñ* towards the land side. 500 boats also, as soon as they were built in the upper part of the *Eráwadí*, were brought down and placed with 50,000 men under YI-TÁ-YI'N, the governor of *Thú-kyeng*, so as to invest *Kaung-toñ* on the river face. *Kaung-toñ* was repeatedly attacked by the Chinese by land and water, but its governor, BULA MEN:DEN, defended it so bravely and skilfully, that the Chinese were obliged at last to confine their operations to

\* Chief of artillery; SYMES's *Amion-mee*.

† This statement is opposed to Mr. GUTZLAFF's opinion, derived from the Chinese accounts of this war, that some navigable river from *China* falls into the *Eráwadí*, and that the Chinese army brought boats with them by that means.

keeping up an incessant fire against the place, from the positions occupied by their land and water force.

As soon as the Wún-gyíh MAHÁ THÍ'HA-THU'RA, who was advancing with the water force from *Ava*, heard that the Chinese were closely besieging *Kaung-toŭn*, he ordered TSA'N-LHA-GYÍ'H, DHAMMATÁ, BINIÁ UH and SHUE-DAUNG-NGAY with four war-boats and all the boats which had joined him from the different towns on his route from *Ava*, to proceed with expedition before the rest of the army, and endeavour to throw into *Kaung-toŭn* a supply of ammunition and provisions. These four officers attacked the Chinese boats in front of *Kaung-toŭn*, and after defeating and driving them off, and capturing many, succeeded in relieving *Kaung-toŭn*. TSA'N-LHA-GYÍ'H then stockaded himself with 5,000 men in the rear of the Chinese besieging force, on a spot to the south of *Kaung-toŭn*, and north of the mouth of the *Tsín-gan* or *Tsín-khan* river, whilst DHAMMATÁ and BINIÁ UH with their boats, and the Chinese boats which they had captured, took post near the island of *Kyun-dó* on the side of the *Eráwadí*, opposite to that on which *Kaung-toŭn* stands. The Chinese water force returned to its former position in front of *Kaung-toŭn*, and 40 or 50,000 Chinese made an attack on TSA'N-LHA-GYÍ'H'S stockade, but being unable to carry it took post round it.

The Wún-gyíh being joined at *Tagaung* and *Malí* by the elephants and cavalry which had marched from *Ava* by the eastern route, detached 100 war elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the Let-wé-weng-mhú with orders to proceed to *Mó:meit*, and after putting that place in a state of defence, to watch the state of affairs and seize any opportunity which might offer for attacking the Chinese army. The Wún-gyíh himself then advanced with his boats, and on arriving near *Kaung-toŭn*, took post near the island opposite that place, towards the western bank of the *Eráwadí*. He then ordered 1,500 horse and 15,000 foot, under the Shye-weng-mhú\* and Teingyá:men:gaung, to cross over and land on the eastern side of the *Eráwadí*, and, marching round the rear of *Moyú* on the north bank of the *Len-ban-gya*, to attack any convoy of supplies and provisions which might be coming to the enemy from *China*, and afterwards fall on the rear of the Chinese army.

The force which marched from *Ava* to *Mō:gaung* under the Amyauk-wún, after placing *Mō:gaung* in a state of defence, advanced to meet the Chinese army coming in that direction. Learning from his scouts

\* "Commanding the eastern entrance into the palace," to which honorable post this officer, who had so much distinguished himself in the preceding campaigns, appears to have been elevated.

that the Chinese force of 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot under general TSHENG-TÁ-LÔ-YE', which had been detached towards *Mō:gaung*, had halted on the east bank of the *Eráwadí*, near *Naung-tá-ló* island, above *Kat-kyo-wain-mó*, in order to construct a bridge over the river, which is narrow there, the Amyauk-wún rapidly advanced with his whole force and took post near *Peng-tháh*, an island lying near the west bank, and above and below it along the river, whence he prevented the Chinese from building their bridge or crossing the *Eráwadí*.

The Shye-weng-dô-mhú, having crossed the *Eráwadí* river with his 15,000 men, and landed at the landing-place of the *Ba-mó* mart, marched round the north of the *Len-ban-gya* stream and cut off the supplies of the Chinese, capturing every convoy of men, horses and mules which was approaching by the *Maing:tein* road, and then turned round to attack the rear of the Chinese army; whilst the Let-wé-weng-mhú, who had been detached to *Mó:meit*, having put that town in a state of defence and placed in it a strong garrison with its Tsô:buáh, was advancing towards *Kaung-toñ* with his ten divisions. The Chinese generals, THU'-KOUN-YE' and AKOUN-YE', hearing that the Shye-weng-mhú and Let-wé-weng-mhú were advancing in two directions from the rear to attack them, sent out a force of 5,000 horse and 50,000 foot under YÓ-TÁ-YI'N, the governor of *Lhyín-yín*, to meet the Let-wé-weng-mhú, and another force of the same strength under KÓ-TÁ-YI'N, to meet the Shye-weng-mhú.

As the Let-wé-weng-mhú was advancing from *Mó:meit* and had crossed to the northward of the *Tsín-khan* river, he fell in with 5,000 Chinese horse which were preceding the Chinese general YÓ-TÁ-YI'N, and immediately attacked them with 100 elephants and 2,000 musqueteers and broke them. He then sent against the right and left flanks of the Chinese force 500 Cassay and 500 Burmese horse, whilst he himself penetrated into the very centre of the Chinese force with the rest of his ten divisions. The Chinese were completely defeated and driven back with great loss, and the Let-wé-weng-mhú halted his force, and took post on the north bank of the *Tsín-khan* river.

The Shye-weng-mhú also fell in with the Chinese force sent against him at a spot beyond the *Nán-ma-bue'* river, to the eastward of the great Chinese stockade at *Shue-nyaung-beng*, and, dividing his force into three portions of five divisions each, received the Chinese attack. The Chinese horse advanced with great impetuosity, but being received by the fire of 3,000 musqueteers from the Burmese right and left wings, they were driven back with the loss of 5 or

600 men. The whole Burmese force then advanced and attacked the Chinese, and forced them to fall back to their great stockade at *Shue-nyaung-beng* with a heavy loss. This stockade being as large and extensive as a city, the Shye-weng-mhú halted and took post on the east side of the *Nán-ma-bué* river.

On the Let-wé-weng-mhú then sending out a party of 100 horse to open a communication with the Shye-weng-mhú, the latter reported that all the supplies of the enemy had been intercepted, and their communication with the rear cut off, and proposed that the two Burmese forces should make a combined attack on the great Chinese stockades at *Shue-nyaung-beng*, as, after capturing them, the Chinese army before *Kaung-toÿn* would be enclosed like fish in a net. The Let-wé-weng-mhú on receiving this proposition, summoned all his officers, and after praising it to them, advanced with the whole of his ten divisions and joined the Shye-weng-mhú's force before the great Chinese stockades at *Shue-nyaung-beng*. A plan of attack being then arranged, the Chinese stockades were stormed at four points, to the east by six regiments under the Shye-weng-mhú, to the south by six regiments under Men:ngay-bala, to the west by seven regiments under the Let-wé-weng-mhú, and to the north by six regiments under the *Lain-bó\**. Some of the Burmese entered by ladders, whilst others entered by the openings which were made by elephants employed to butt against and throw down the gates and timbers. Although the Chinese with their general and the whole of their officers received the Burmese on the top of their works, and maintained a heavy fire, the Burmese, urged on by their generals, the Shye-weng-mhú and Let-wé-weng-mhú, succeeded in entering the works, when the whole of the Chinese rushed out of the western face, and joined the army which was before *Kaung-toÿn* under their generals THU'-KOUN-YE' and AKOUN-YE'. The Burmese generals having captured the Chinese entrenchments at *Shue-nyaung-beng*, with an immense quantity of guns, jinjals, muskets and ammunition, and horses and mules, placed a garrison of 5,000 men in charge of these stockades. The Let-wé-weng-mhú with ten divisions then proceeded and took post at *Naung-byit* on the north bank of the *Tsín-khan* river, four miles to the south-east of *Kaung-toÿn*; whilst the Shye-weng-mhú with ten regiments took post on the bank of the *Len-ban-gya* river, opposite to *Mó:yú* village, and eight miles distant from *Kaung-toÿn*.

The Wún-gyih then sent eight divisions of his fleet under the MEK-KHA-RA'-BÓ and seven other officers to attack the Chinese boats

\* Officer of *Lain*, a town and district near *Rangoon*.

which were blockading *Kaung-toñn*. This attack succeeded; but the Burmese having returned to the *Wún-gyíh* with the boats and guns they had captured, the Chinese fleet rallied and resumed the blockade. The eight divisions of the Burmese fleet, as soon as they had refitted and repaired, again attacked the Chinese fleet, and after a severe engagement, forced the crews to jump on shore, and leave all their boats, guns, &c. of which the Burmese took possession. The *Wún-gyíh*'s army then opened a communication with the garrison of *Kaung-toñn*, and the *Wún-gyíh* sent 10 regiments under *MEN:YE'-ZEYA-GYÔ* to cross the *Eráwadí* below *Kaung-toñn* to the eastward, and post themselves along the *Tsín-khan* river to the south east of that town, so as to communicate with *Naung-byít*, where the *Let-wé-weng-mhú* was stockaded. The *Wún-gyíh* also sent ten regiments under *MEN:YE'-YÁN-NAUNG* to cross the *Eráwadí* above *Kaung-toñn*, and to place themselves along the *Len-ban-gya* river to the north of that town, so as to communicate with *Moyú*, where the *Shye-weng-mhú* was posted. The *Wún-gyíh* also, in order to induce the Chinese to believe that strong reinforcements were daily joining him, made large parties of men, elephants and horses cross over every day from the west to the east bank of the *Eráwadí*, and at night brought them all secretly back again to the west.

The Chinese generals *THU'-KOUN-YE'* and *AKOUN-YE'*, then summoned all their officers, and after describing the defeats which both their land and water forces had so repeatedly sustained, and the severe sufferings which their army was experiencing from the want of every kind of supplies, which the Burmese had intercepted, and observing that even if they succeeded in an attempt to force the Burmese armies around them, the Chinese troops would be unable to go far, owing to the scarcity of provisions, the Chinese generals proposed to depute a mission to the Burmese camp, in order to open a negotiation for peace, and for a passage for their army to *China*. This proposition being unanimously approved of, the Chinese generals addressed the following letter to the Burmese commander-in-chief:—

“The generals *THU'-KOUN-YE'*, *AKOUN-YE'*, and *YUON-KOUN-YE'* to the (Burmese) general. When we three, who were appointed to march to *Ava* by three different routes, were about to commence our march in the year 1129, (1767-8,) the (Burmese) general sent eight Chinese with a letter, stating that all sentient beings desired rest. We therefore delayed our march a year. Even now, we should be happy only to see our dispute settled, which it will not be for years, if we go on fighting. We are not come, because we want the Burmese dominions. If the sun-descended king (of *Ava*)

sends presents, as was the former custom, in the 16th year of the emperor of *China's* reign, we shall send presents in return. Our master the emperor's orders are: 'Fight, if they fight; or make peace, if they make peace.' We three generals, desirous of settling this dispute, have come with a moderate force only. In our Chinese country we are not accustomed to say more than one word, and are used to speak with truth and sincerity only. The present war has arisen from the circumstance of the Tsô:buáhs of *Theinní*, *Bá-mó*, *Mô:gaung*, and *Kyaing:yoŭn* having come and invited us. We will deliver up the Tsô:buáhs, subjects of the sun-descended king, who are now in *China*. Let them be restored to their former towns and situations. And after the (Burmese) general has delivered up to us all the Chinese officers and soldiers who are in his hands, let him submit to the sun-descended king and great lord of righteousness, and we will also submit to our master, the emperor and lord of righteousness, that the two great countries may continue on the same terms as they always were before; that all sentient beings may be at rest; that there may be no war; and that the gold and silver road may be opened."

The Kue-chow-bó\* coming to the advance of the Burmese army with the foregoing letter on the 3rd December, 1769, the Wún-gyíh sent out some officers with a Chinese interpreter to meet the bearer of the letter. One of the Burmese officers, hearing that the object of the letter was to open a negotiation for peace, told the Kue-chow-bó, that in order to establish an important precedent, such negotiation ought to take place on the boundary line between *Ava* and *China*. The Kue-chow-bó replied, "Very true, but only say where the boundary is." The Burmese asked, if Buddhist pagodas were not built in the towns of *Hó-thá*, *Lá-thá*, *Móná*, *Tsandá*, *Kaing:máh*, *Khantí*, and *Khan-nyen*? The Kue-chow-bó said that they were built, and that they are still in existence. The Burmese rejoined, the Chinese do not build or worship Buddhist pagodas, but the Burmese do; such buildings are erected throughout the king of *Ava's* dominions, and their existence in *Hó-thá*, *Lá-thá*, and the other towns, is a convincing proof of those places belonging to the king of *Ava*. The Chinese army ought therefore first to retreat beyond those towns, to the boundary of the Chinese empire at *Mó:myín* and *Kyeng-thi*. (*Kyang-si*?) The Kue-chow-bó then asked, if there is not such a place as *Ta-roup-mó* (Chinese point) in the king of *Ava's* dominions; and on being

\* That is, "The officer of *Kue-chow* city;" but this name is generally written in Burmese history, *Kue-tsue-bó*.



answered that there is, below the city of *Prome*,—he asked, if the Burmese history and ancient records do not mention, that in a former king of *Pagan's* time, a Chinese army invaded the country and marched along the *Eráwadí* as far as that place, which was thence called *Taroup-mó*;—and on again being answered in the affirmative, he observed, an army under the son, brother, and son-in-law of TSHEN-BYU'-MYÁ:YEN, king of *Pegu*, only came as far as those towns of *Hó-thá*, *Lá-thá*, &c. during the reign of that king, and built those pagodas;—but if you refer to the spot only to which an army may have happened to reach, the Burmese army ought, on the same principle, to retreat as far as *Taroup-mó*\*. The letter from the Chinese generals was then taken in to the Wún-gyih, who, after reading a translation of it which was made, sent word that all his officers had not yet joined him, and that the Kue-chow-bó must come again in four or five days.

The Wún-gyih summoned thirty of his principal officers and consulted with them as to the answer which should be made to the letter from the Chinese generals. They all recommended that no terms should be given;—but the Wún-gyih observed, that whenever the Chinese had heretofore erred and attacked *Ava*, the Burmese kings restrained their feelings and granted them peace, recollecting the long friendship which had existed between the two countries;—that even if the Chinese force then before them were entirely destroyed, the empire of *China* would still possess abundance of troops and population;—that if the Burmese refused to grant terms to the Chinese, when asked by them, and cut them to pieces, such a proceeding would be recollected for many successive generations with feelings of animosity and desire of revenge on their part, and the inhabitants of both countries would continue deprived of peace and quiet. For these reasons, the Wún-gyih gave it as his opinion, that terms ought to be granted to the Chinese,—and declared, that if the king of *Ava* disapproved of the measure, he would take the whole responsibility of it upon himself. The other officers acquiesced, and the Wún-gyih then addressed a long reply to the Chinese generals, recapitulating the causes and events of the war, and concluding with an inquiry, whether the Chinese generals desired to settle the dispute by arms or by negotiation. The Chinese generals THU'-KOUN-YE' and AKOUN-YE', (the latter here stated to be the emperor of *China's* son,) next sent a long letter addressed to the king of *Ava*, closing

\* The ground on which the Burmese claimed *Hó-thá*, *Lá-thá*, &c. is precisely the same as that on which the Burmese of the present day founded their right to *Kubo* valley, *Manipur*, and even to *Chittagong* and *Dacca*.

with a request, that officers of rank and intelligence on each side, should meet and settle all points of difference; and with this condition, that the Chinese army should not retire until after the Burmese army was withdrawn; for, as the Chinese generals said, if we retreat first, we are afraid the Burmese army may follow and attack us, as was done at *Theinni*. This letter was brought to the outposts of the Burmese camp by the Kue-chow-bó and the interpreter NGA-MYAT-THUON-AUNG, on the 10th December, 1769. The Burmese officers who came out and met him, at first refused to take the letter, observing that the business must be discussed with them; that the king of *Ava* ought not to be addressed; and that, in fact, they dare not forward any such letter to him. The Kue-chow-bó assured the Burmese, that the person who had written the letter from the Chinese generals had made a mistake through ignorance, and that the letter was intended for the Burmese generals and officers. The Kue-chow-bó further proposed, that if the Burmese really desired to make peace, they should permit the Chinese army to retire freely to a suitable situation, at which the negotiation might be concluded; and displayed great anxiety for peace as soon as possible. The Burmese officers sent him back with a promise only to report all he had said to their general.

The Kue-chow-bó returned to the Burmese camp on the 12th of December, when the Wún-gyíh delivered to him a letter for the Chinese generals, expressing his willingness to negotiate a peace. The moment the Chinese generals understood the contents, they sent the Kue-chow-bó back to the Wún-gyíh, to beg of him to fix the day on which certain officers of the two armies should meet and discuss the matter. The Wún-gyíh appointed the following day.

On the 13th December, 1769, fourteen Burmese and thirteen Chinese officers of rank met in a large shed, which was erected for the purpose at the south-east angle of the town of *Kaung-toñn*. On the part of the Chinese the Kue-chow-bó was the principal speaker, and on that of the Burmese, the Wún-dauk NE-MYÓ-MAHÁ-THURA. The Burmese demanded, that the Tsó:buáhs of *Theinni*, *Ba-mó*, and *Mó:gaung* should be immediately made over to them. The Chinese said, that these Tsó:buáhs were not in their camp, and affirmed with an oath, that they should be forwarded to *Theinni* and surrendered to the Burmese there, within six months from that date. The following treaty was then written on white paper with ink, and a copy delivered by the Chinese to the Burmese:—

“ Wednesday, 13th December, 1769, in the temporary building to the south-east of the town of *Kaung-toñn*. His Excellency the general

of the lord who rules over a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great western kingdom, the sun-descended king of *Ava*, and master of the golden palace, having appointed, [here follow the names and titles of the 14 Burmese officers,] and the generals of the master of the golden palace of *China*, who rules over a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great eastern kingdom, having appointed, [here follow the names and titles of the 13 Chinese officers,] they assembled in the large building, erected in a proper manner with seven roofs to the south-east of the town of *Kaung-toŭn*, on the 13th December, 1769, to negotiate peace and friendship between the two great countries, and that the gold and silver road should be established agreeably to former custom. The troops of the sun-descended king and master of the golden palace of *Ava*, and those of the master of the golden palace of *China*, were drawn up in front of each other when this negotiation took place; and after its conclusion, each party made presents to the other, agreeably to former custom, and retired. All men, the subjects of the sun-descended king and master of the golden palace of *Ava*, who may be in any part of the dominions of the master of the golden palace of *China*, shall be treated according to former custom. Peace and friendship being established between the two great countries, they shall become one, like two pieces of gold united into one; and suitably to the establishment of the gold and silver road, as well as agreeably to former custom, the princes and officers of each country shall move their respective sovereigns to transmit and exchange affectionate letters on gold, once every ten years."

The Burmese negotiators, after receiving the above treaty, applied to the Chinese to make over to them such boats as the Chinese still appear to have had near *Kaung-toŭn*. The Chinese promised to deliver the same after they had been employed in bringing up their stores to *Ba-mó*; but the boats were burnt on the same day by the Chinese generals, and some difference of opinion afterwards took place about them. Presents being exchanged between the Chinese and Burmese generals, and some sent by the Chinese to the king of *Ava*, the Chinese army began their march towards *China* on Monday, the 18th December, followed at a distance of a jinjal shot by the Burmese divisions under the *Let-wé-weng-mhú* and *Shye-weng-mhú*, until the Chinese reached the boundary of their country, when the Burmese returned to *Ba-mó* and *Kaung-toŭn*. At the same time, the Chinese commanders-in-chief having sent the necessary orders to that portion of their army which had marched towards *Mo-gaung*, that force also retired into *China*.

The Chinese armies having suffered long from want of provisions, those men only who were able-bodied succeeded in reaching *China*, and the forests and mountains were filled with countless numbers who died on the route from starvation.

When the officer, whom the Wún-gyih sent with a report of the peace which had been concluded with the Chinese, and with a large quantity of silks and satins that had been received from the Chinese generals as presents for his majesty, arrived at *Ava*, the king disapproved of the conduct of the general and officers, for allowing the Chinese army to escape; refused to accept the presents, and ordered that the wives of the general and other chief officers should be placed with the Chinese presents on their heads, in front of the western gateway of the palace; and notwithstanding that the wife of the general-in-chief was a sister of the principal queen, she and the wives of the other officers were exhibited for three days at the appointed place, with the bundles of Chinese silks and satins on their heads.

The Wún-gyih and other officers hearing how highly the king was displeased, were afraid to return to *Ava* immediately, and determined to go first and attack *Manipur*, the Tsô:buáh of which, they heard, had been fortifying himself again. In January, 1770, therefore, the Burmese army crossed to the westward of the *Eráwadi* at *Kaung-toän*, and marched to *Manipur*, and although the Tsô:buáh of that place made arrangements for checking the progress of the invaders at every defile and narrow pass, the Burmese army succeeded in penetrating to the capital, when the Tsô:buáh fled with his family and as many of his adherents as he could, and concealed themselves in jungles and high hills. The Burmese army seized the whole of the population and property they found in the country, with the princess of *Mueyen*, *Tuonkó*, and princes HE'MÔ and TSANDA-YO'-KAY, and brought them to *Ava*, where they arrived on the 23rd of March, 1770.

The king, still displeased at the Chinese army having been allowed to escape into *China*, refused to see the Wún-gyih and other officers of the Burmese army, and ordered them to be removed out of his kingdom into some other territory. They were conveyed to the eastern side of the *Myít-ngay*, which joins the *Eráwadi* near the north-east angle of the city of *Ava*; and two other Wún-gyih's were also ordered by the king to be taken to the same place, for having presumed to speak to his majesty in favor of the general and other officers. About a month after, the king forgave the whole of them, and allowed them to return to *Ava*.

The Chinese generals, THU'-KOU'N-YE' and AKOUN-YE', returned and reported to the emperor of *China*, that having made peace with

the Burmese at *Kaung-toŭn* upon these conditions ; namely, that the Tsô:buáhs of *Theinni*, *Ba-mó* and *Mó:gaung*, subjects of the king of *Ava*, should be surrendered at *Theinni* ; that all the Chinese officers and soldiers taken prisoners by the Burmese in the years 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1769, should be given up ; and that ambassadors should be sent by both sovereigns once in ten years, the armies of both nations had retired ; and that two officers, the Kue-chow-bó and KYI'N: MEN: TI' TU' HA, had much distinguished themselves. The emperor of *China* was greatly pleased and desired to promote those officers ; but two of the imperial kinsmen, HÁ-TÁ-YI'N and TSHI'N-TÁ-YI'N, with two Tartar nobles, the governors of *Atsì-kyain* and *Maing:thín*, submitted that they should first be allowed to go down to *Mó:myín* and see how far the statements of the Kue-chow-bó were founded in truth. These four individuals accordingly came down to *Mó:myín* and sent a letter to the Burmese governor of *Kaung-toŭn*, in charge of a subordinate officer and upwards of fifty men ; but the governor finding from a translation of the letter, that its contents were very unfriendly, seized and confined the whole of the Chinese mission. A report of the Burmese governor's proceeding was immediately forwarded to the emperor of *China* at *Pekin*, who ordered the Kue-chow-bó to go down himself and see how the matter could be settled.

The Kue-chow-bó came down to *Mó:wún* with upwards of 1,000 soldiers, and sent a very civil letter to the governor of *Kaung-toŭn*, requesting him to release the Chinese party he had confined, and to send back with them the letter which had been addressed to him by the governors of *Atsì-kyain* and *Maing:thín*, by order of HÁ-TÁ-YI'N and TSHI'N-TÁ-YI'N. The governor of *Kaung-toŭn* immediately complied with this request ; and on the Kue-chow-bó perusing the letter, which had been sent to *Kaung-toŭn*, and finding its contents to be not only uncivil, but warlike and threatening, he forwarded it to *Pekin*. The emperor was exceedingly angry, and ordered HÁ-TÁ-YI'N and TSHI'N-TÁ-YI'N, with the two Tartar nobles who had written the letter, to be sent up to *Pekin* in irons. HÁ-TÁ-YI'N died on the road, but on the arrival of the other three individuals at *Pekin*, the emperor ordered them to be executed. In the same year, in October, 1770, the caravans of Chinese merchants came down as before to *Ba-mó*, *Kaung-toŭn*, and other places in the Burmese dominions.

[To be continued.]